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New Afrikan People's Organization

SOME LESSONS LEARNED

From the New Afrikan People's Organization:

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Articles 1,4,5,and 6 written by Chokwe Lumumba, Chairman NAPO.

Articles 2 and 3 written by Akinyele Umoja, National Secretary NAPO.

NEITHER FREEDOM, NOR POWER ARE EVER FOR SALE

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Much of the following message involves analysis and comment with regard to the "POWER" program of Minister Louis Farrakhan and the "Buy Freedom" program of Brother Tony Brown. Before discussing these subjects, however, i will pause to address another:

The recent mass media blitz charging Louis Farrakhan with racism and anti-Semitism makes the present pause timely. These charges come essentially from Zionists, American politicians and hankerchief-headed negroes speaking on behalf of Zionists. These charges are allegedly precipitated by Minister Farrakhan's outspoken denunciation of the Israeli state and its supporters.

The New Afrikan People's Organization views all genuine denunciations of Zionism as warranted. We further see the attacks against Farrakhan as an old-time tactic designed to defraud Blacks with regard to the character of phony Zionist "allies".

Zionism and Zionists are enemies to Black people. The top negro friends of Zionism are literally paid for by financial contributions from Zionists.

Zionism is essentially the jewish version of white supremacy, or more accurately stated, modern day zionism is white supremacy cloaked in jewish garb, ritual and religion. Today's Zionists are pre-

dominantly Europeans or Americans, or first generation descendants of the same. The biological relationship of the modern day Zionists to the ancient Hebrew is tenuous at best.

Zionism is a doctrine of white jewish supremacy. The strongest expression of Zionism in the world today is embodied in the Israeli state where Zionism has found state power.The Israeli state is a despotic and terroristic government. It has robbed millions of Arabs of their home, and murdered, tortured, massacred and imprisoned millions more. In fact every inch of land that the Israeli state occupies has been stolen from one Arab nation or another. Consistent with its true character, the Zionist state supports the Republic of South Africa, which is another white supremacist government. The chief ally of Israel is the United States, which is the most formidable white supremacist government in the world.

In the nations controlled by each of these racist governments, whites control the political and economic system. Non-whites, on the other hand, are consistently victims of rank discrimination, and other forms of racial and national oppression.

Israel is actually a surrogate for the United States in the Middle-East. By destabilizing the entire area, Israel makes it possible for the US to pose as "friend" of many Arab governments which are left in desperate need of a powerful ally in order to check Israeli aggression. The United States as a consequence of this need is able to easily advance its business interests and exploitative practices. Arab governments which accept and seek aid and assistance from the United States, are the same ones which are overrun by the International Monetary Fund's control of their economy in general, and US-owned multinationals' control of their oil distribution and production in particular. The benign friendship of the United States of America toward Arab nations is phony. Israeli aggression continues with US collaboration.

Israel is a fascist regime. Its murder of civilians and plunder of non-white, non-jewish populations is accomplished by acts equaling the inhumane conduct of the Nazi regime in Germany and Jim Crow regimes in the United States.

Moreover, the enlightened New Afrikan (Black person) in America does not have to look as far away as the middle east or Southern Africa to witness Zionism or Zionist type behavior. The Zionist-like actions of white jewish racists in America provide ample example. The slave trade, outrageous ghetto merchandising practices, opposition to affirmative action in work places, law schools and medical schools, exploitation in record and book industries and consistent Zionist-type opposition to Black self-determination and power in the 1960/70's provide ample evidence of direct assaults on the New Afrikan population by pro-Zionist Jews right here in the United States empire (USA).

In NAPO's view Israel is a willing tool of US imperialism. It is a state well compensated and well protected for its efforts in helping the USA and other western imperialists to economically dominate the developing (third) world.

Our view of Zionism is not new. It predates Minister Farrakhan's widely reported comments on the Zionist state. Speaking for the New Afrikan Independence movement in an article published in *The Black Scholar* in 1980, I wrote the following:

"...Zionism is the Jewish version of white supremacy. Israel, like the Republic of South Africa, like the United States of America and in particular like the states of the former American Confederacy is an illegal white settler State.The United States government is aligned with the Zionist state of Israel for the same reasons the United States government aligned with the Jim Crow regimes in the South in the late 1870's. In both instances, these states served as a source of security and a base of operation for the economic powers that the United States government represents." (C. Lumumba, "Perspectives on Human Rights", *The Black Scholar*, March/April 1980, p. 51.)

Power

In an editorial appearing in NAPO's national newspaper, our organization's view of Israel was expressed. This appeared in the first edition of the newspaper published within three months after NAPO's founding:

"We (Black people) need the destruction of the Israeli State, the South African State, and most importantly the American State. Each of these states are racist, imperialistic and blood thirsty. They pose a constant threat to us and the rest of the world." ("The Steadfast Resistance to Incorrect Ideas and the Jesse Jackson Campaign", *By Any Means Necessary*, Vol. I No. I, August/September 1985, p. 8.)

In view of the historic and contemporary contributions of Zionists and Zionist-like American Jews to our oppression, the contemporary call of today's negro leadership for Black-Zionist unity is obviously a call for Blacks to engage in self-destruction. These negro leaders have been known to encourage our people toward self-destruction often in the past. Consequently the condemnation of Minister Farrakhan by these misleaders and their white masters should be rejected by all of us. Unprincipled unity should always be rejected.

Freedom and Power

On the other hand it is also important that our rejection of the pro-zionist attacks on Minister Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam not blind us to the flawed thinking and politics characteristic of much of the "Power" campaign presently being spearheaded by Minister Farrakhan.

This campaign is essentially intended as a "Buy Black" program which encourages all Blacks to buy from Black businesses. Tony Brown's "Buy Freedom" campaign is similar. The idea of Blacks buying from Blacks is of course not new. Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X, among others have advocated such action. The idea and practice of Black on Black trade is healthy. Ideally, Black on Black buying can help consolidate some skills, resources, jobs and finances within the Black community, and thereby, enable the community to better finance the New Afrikan (Black) national liberation struggle.

The degree to which any economic program actually contributes to the waging of liberation struggle is key to evaluating the program's real value to New Afrikan people. Without a successful liberation struggle, Black on Black buying is of little use to our people. Within the context of the present American capitalist economic system a buy Black program can only have a marginal effect on the masses of Black people. Such a program would principally increase the earnings of a few Black business owners, but it would do little to alleviate the wretched economic condition of the masses.

As the American economy is presently organized, all buying and selling within it, perpetuates the capitalist ownership, control, and wealth of major white economic powers in the United States and Europe. These are the super-rich who own multinational corporations. Whether it be Blacks or some other people doing the buying or selling, in the present American Economy, that which is being bought and sold is most likely manufactured, distributed, taxed, politically monitored, and priced by American white business interests. This comprehensive economic control by rich whites, allow them to ensure that little, if any, Black economic independence will develop inside the US Empire.

An occasional product might escape the grasp of American white manufacturing and distribution (i.e., Famous Amos Cookies). However the fact that one brand of cookies and a handful of other small items are Black-manufactured does not alter the essential reality of white economic oppression. Both the *legal* and *illegal* means of manufacturing and retailing, production and distribution—the total American capitalist economy—is white dominated.

The only way to destroy this domination is by revolutionary means. Neither collectively nor individually do New Afrikans have sufficient money to *buy freedom* from the American economic system or to *purchase* sufficient power to accomplish economic independence.

The 180 billion dollars that crosses our hands enroute to American businesses is

not a proper measurement of potential economic strength. A large portion of this sum is received by us only as an expedient method of keeping some of us breathing so that our contributions (labor, genius, and consumer purchases) to the American economy will continue. Absent serious revolutionary struggle which organizes our people for independence, and challenges the political and economic shackles controlling us, there is little left to spend in any store (Black or white), once our people have paid for the roof over their head, electric bill, gas bill and other vital living expenses.

It is only after these critical needs are dealt with that We can then go shopping at stores, etc. for goods and services that by and large are manufactured by white people.

The manufacturer having the greatest control over the system will, moreover, guarantee policies which ensure that retailers and distributors are either whites or non-whites willing and able to comply with anti-Black capitalist economic policies.

Furthermore even if We had 180 to 200 billion dollars in our collective pockets New Afrikans would be unable to purchase either freedom or power from corporate America. The fact is the empire's system of economic oppression already ensures that these billions of dollars that cross our hands will land in the coffers of bloodsucking capitalists any old way! What possible gain could these same capitalists find in selling us the economic freedom and power necessary to elude their economic control? Any money We could pay for economic independence is money these tyrants could get anyway by merely denying us economic independence.

Buying freedom and power is never a realistic option for an oppressed people. This is so precisely because selling freedom and power is never in the interest of the oppressor. Anyone who thinks that buying Black, purchases freedom or power is mistaken.

Merely trading in a capitalist economic market can never liberate Blacks from America's white supremacist economic system. The system by virtue of its white supremacist nature will freeze those Blacks who participate in it individually or collectively at or near the bottom. Whatever few individual exceptions there are to this rule are irrelevant to the masses, because their impact is insignificant.

We are often challenged to "do like the Jews". Yet this proposal ignores both the racial distinctions between the Jews and ourselves, and is not an objective evaluation of what these "Jews" have supposedly done. Many jewish merchants, landlords, lawyers, doctors and others have played the roles of middle men in the exploitation of the Black community. Utilizing these roles, many of these jewish "success stories" have gathered sufficient capital to elevate their positions in the capitalist-white supremacist economy of the United States. Significantly however, these jews are still subordinates to the ruling class of the American economic system—a class which is all white and predominantly white-Anglo Saxons. Furthermore to "do like the Jews" would require us to aid top American capitalists in the exploitation of some oppressed mass of people, like these jews help to exploit us. The only oppressed people American capitalists are willing and ready to enlist Blacks to exploit are the Black masses. Recognizing this reality exposes not only the self-destructive quality of the "do like the Jews" economic strategy, but also one of the key flaws in the Buy Black "POWER" program, and Tony Brown's Buy Freedom program.

The problem is that without a successful New Afrikan pro-socialist independence movement and revolution, buying Black in the American economy can only con-

tribute to the true economic advantage of Black economic traitors and American multinationals. The masses will continue to suffer.

Neither the "POWER" program, the "Buy Freedom" program or any of the other Buy Black strategies are fashioned to encourage or support revolution. Indeed, Minister Farrakhan has on occasion characterized the "POWER" campaign as an alternative to revolution and Black independence in the "five states" of New Afrika (Check out Farrakhan's speech at Little Rock Baptist Church in Detroit, 1985; and his"POWER" program speech in Los Angeles, 1985).

It should be noted that counterposing a Buy Black program to revolution and the Struggle for Land is counterproductive to the success of any Buy Black campaign aimed at enhancing mass participation and benefits. This is true because priorto liberation revolutionary political action is the only real catalyst for mass Black participation in a Black on Black trade program. Moreover, revolutionary values must be utilized to ensure that the type of Black business supported will share (recycle) gains made from the masses with the masses, and not against the masses, in order to retain mass support.

Buying Black without revolutionary struggle and values serves as no economic benefit to most Blacks. Because of the design of the American economy Black-owned stores, medical and legal firms, etc. must charge *more* than their white-owned competitors in order to survive. Consequently, the Black consumers will often find no immediate financial advantage in buying Black. Furthermore, most Black businesses are so limited that the prospect of them employing a significant number of the population is unrealistic.

Thus, the only effective motivation for Blacks to buy Black—consistently and en mass—is a mass revolutionary independence movement which challenges both the American Empire and unprincipled, disloyal Black businesses which collaborate with the Empire for limited self-aggrandizement and selfish interests.

This type of movement motivates the population to stand together politically and economically in that challenge. This kind of movement, a revolutionary New Afrikan independence struggle, is what the New Afrikan People's Organization builds and supports.

To be sure, We are not against buying Black. For We know well that Black economic self-determination is a part of our Independence movement, and that buying Black is a part of Black economic self-determination. Our Buy Black campaign must not and will not be offered as a substitute to revolution, but a part and parcel of it and a contribution to it. Indeed, We should require those We buy from to commit themselves and their businesses to pro-Black revolutionary principles.

Make the Future!
Free the Land!

No Association with White Supremacists

During Fall, 1985 a Los Angeles rally featuring Minister Louis Farrakhan was attended by Tom Metzger. Metzger, a central figure for White American Resistance, the White American Political Association, and the Aryan Nations, donated $100 to Minister Farrakhan's People Organized & Working for Economic Rebirth (POWER) program. Metzger was later to state at a white supremacist convention that the "Aryan" movement should support Black, American Indian, Mexican, and Puerto Rican separatists.' Metzger has often said that if he were "Black" he would be a Black nationalist.

How should New Afrikan (Black) People view these overtures? Does the struggle for New Afrikan Land, Independence and Self-Determination have a potential friend and alliance with white supremacists? The New Afrikan People's Organization, as a revolutionary New Afrikan nationalist organization, answers emphatically NO. The only potential white allies We see are those who fight the white supremacist power structure like John Brown did. Malcolm X saw it that way too, and Harriet Tubman before him.

No Association with White Supremacists

White racial separatism can never be equated with the national liberation struggle of the New Afrikan nation. The New Afrikan Nation is the descendant of various Afrikan ethnic groups and nation-states captured and forced into bondage inside North America. After bondage New Afrikans were colonized by the imperialist white American state and denied self-determination. Today, We are still powerless to determine our political, economic, and social development. The poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, racist police and other violence New Afrikans face daily begs the question of Independence, Land and Socialism for the colonized Black Nation. We desire a separate or independent New Afrikan Nation to win self-determination and full development of our human and material resources.

This demand is consistent with national liberation struggles of other oppressed nations inside the Amerikkkan Empire—Occupied Mexico (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Colorado), various Native American Indian nations, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Hawaii. The New Afrikan national liberation struggle is also consistent with worldwide struggles for national liberation—Azania, Palestine, Northern Ireland, El Salvador, the Philippines, etc.

On the other hand, white separatism is the most overtly racist manifestation of white settler ideology. It openly calls for exterminating particularly New Afrikan, Mexican, and other oppressed nations along with people of Jewish descent. It is the radical extreme of a white American settler tradition—Manifest Destiny. This is a tradition of stealing Indian and Mexican land, enslaving and colonizing New Afrikan land, and trying to play policeman of the planet. White separatism and Manifest Destiny only mean "White Man take all." While revolutionary nationalism and national liberation have historically been used as weapons by oppressed nations to end oppression, white supremacy has been used by u.s. imperialism and the white ruling class as a vehicle to mobilize white Americans to maintain oppression on the basis of white skin privilege and the "American way of life."

Metzger's overtures to Black Nationalists are opportunistic. They are designed to divert our attention from the growth of a neo-Nazi military underground. This paramilitary force will serve as a fundamental tool in the genocidal race war the neo-Nazis and KKK plan to wage on New Afrikans and other oppressed peoples and nations inside the US. Some Black Nationalists have been confused by this diversionary tactic by the Klan and Nazis.

In the 1920's, Marcus Garvey, leader of the largest mass movement of African people ever, met with Klan leaders and sought support for aspects of his "Back to Africa" Program. The union between Garvey and the Klan served to demobilize New Afrikan support for the Garvey Movement. New Afrikans whose fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, sons and daughters had been lynched, brutalized, and dispossessed by white vigilante terrorists could not join hands with the Klan. This and other factors demoralized and disorganized millions of New Afrikans.

In the early 1960's, while the New Afrikan masses were struggling to eliminate apartheid "jim crow" segregation laws, the Nation of Islam had associations with the KKK, American Nazis were accorded places of honor at public meetings and rallies. J.B. Stoner, later convicted of bombing a Black church in Alabama, was interviewed by *Muhammad Speaks* newspaper of the Nation of Islam. This association with enemies of the Black Nation, along with other factors, led to the Nation losing some of its most revolutionary members, including Malcolm X.

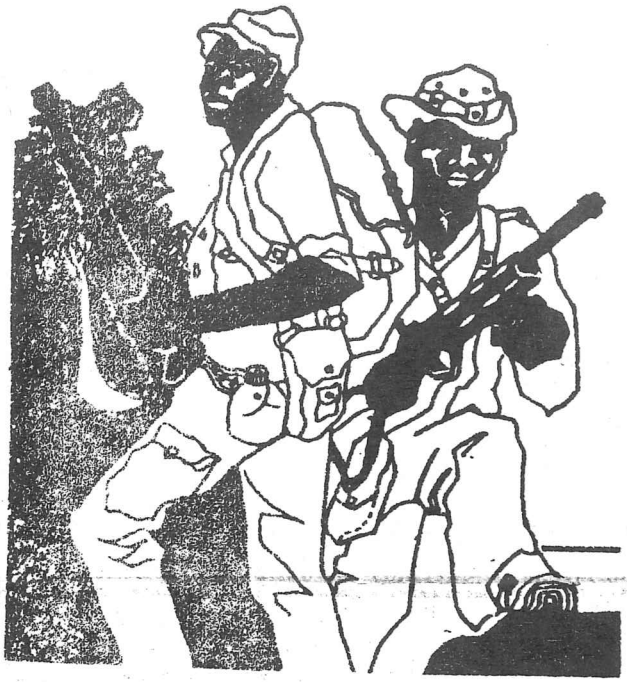
Malcolm, upon leaving the N.O.I., publicly stood with the New Afrikan masses in our struggle against white supremacy. He called for Black self-defense units to protect New Afrikan masses and activist organizing in our subjugated National Territory. In an open statement to American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell (responsible for violent attacks on New Afrikan activists), Malcolm said, "...if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other Black Americans who are only attempting

to enjoy their rights as free human beings, [then] you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not handcuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and who believe in asserting our right of self defense by any means necessary."

Malcolm's stand reflects the revolutionary New Afrikan nationalist tradition of resistance, noncollaboration, and steadfastness against our oppressors. This tradition is seen in the slave rebels, maroons, the Underground Railroad, New Afrikan resistance during the "Red Summer" of 1919, the Deacons for Defense and other self-defense fights in the South in the 1960's, the New Afrikan urban uprisings in mid/late 1960's, and several other aspects of our rich history. This revolutionary tradition is the basis for New Afrikan national identity, consciousness, and the collective and individual moral and ideological posture We must have to win self-determination and national liberation.

We call on all Black, progressive, and anti-imperialist organizations and individuals to see through the opportunistic and destructive tactics of the white supremacists; to denounce steadfastly any relationships or "alliances" with these advocates of genocide by Black, progressive, or anti-imperialist organizations or individuals. Amerikan white supremacy must be isolated and eliminated in the same way We fight Zionism, apartheid, and all racist and genocidal systems and beliefs.

Stand Firm
Death to KKK and Nazis
Free New Afrika–Free the Land



FREEING the LAND in AZANIA

Black people—New Afrikans in the u.s.a. (the American Empire), We have recently witnessed the intensifying repression against our Brothers and Sisters in Azania (South Africa). The white racist regime of South Africa has called a "state of emergency" in an attempt to destroy the growing liberation movement of resistance to its white supremacist and capitalist system. Everyday we hear of more and more of our people in Azania being murdered and assasinated by the racist South African police and thousands being arrested for merely speaking out, or militantly demonstrating their support for the Freedom Movement. We, the New Afrikan (Black) Nation in North America have many questions. Understanding our common enemy, the systems of racism, white supremacy, capitalism, and imperialism has kept us from maintaining positive communication for the most part with our Brothers and Sisters of the African continent. We must ask: (1) What is the struggle for Azania (South Afrika) all about? (2) How does the Azanian struggle relate to the liberation of our New Afrikan (Black) Nation in North America? (3) And what can We do to help our Brothers and Sisters in Azania?

What is the struggle in Azania (South Africa) all about?

The struggle in Azania is a struggle for the Afrikan (Black) people—called Azanians by many of the freedom fighting conscious Brothers and Sisters in South Afrika—to regain their land stolen from them hundreds of years ago by white/European (primarily Dutch and British) settlers. Since 1652 the white settlers began to steal land from various Afrikan ethnic groups and nations through the murder, rape, and enslavement of our people in Southern Afrika. In 1961 the white settlers broke all symbolic ties to England and proclaimed a Republic based on the white supremacist settler's domination. Our people were *forced* to live on reservations comprising 12% of the land, while the white settlers controlled 88% of the land. Not only were We forced to live as prisoners in our own land but we were forced to work the hardest, risky, and unhealthy jobs for slave wages, while the white South Afrikan settlers grew rich. The land of Azania is the most minerally rich in the world with large reserves of diamonds, gold, and platinum.

Our people in Azania have always resisted the white settler regime. From the Afrikan Zulu warriors—Tshaka, Cetawayo and Bambata to the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan African Congress (PAC), Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO), and the United Democratic Front (UDF), our people have a strong history of fighting for their freedom. Even though the white racists have increasingly repressed the Freedom Struggle, our people have not given up. The PAC, ANC, and BCM, all banned by the racist white settler regime, are organizing armed movement to win back the land for the Afrikan people. AZAPO and the UDF are fighting to raise the consciousness and resistance of our people to the racist South Afrikan system.

How does the Azanian Freedom Struggle relate to our struggle?

The united states of america (usa) is much like the union of south africa (usa). They are both white settler regimes (formerly colonies of England) who established themselves criminally by stealing someone's land, the American Indian and Afrikan. Both white settler regimes got rich by exploiting the labor of Afrikan people.

Freeing the Land in Azania

Continued

Like no one else in the world We Black people, New Afrikans in the u.s.—can relate to the Azanian Freedom Struggle in South Africa. The "jim crow" system of segregation we lived under more closely resembles the South Afrikan racist system of apartheid than any other oppressive condition known to mankind. The sit-ins, marches, demonstrations in the Southern Black Belt and the rebellions (riots) in Harlem, Watts, Newark, Detroit and hundreds of other cities in the 1960's which ended "jim crow" by law (even though it still exists in reality) resembles the present resistance of the Azanian people.

There is important fact in this parallel for our people in Azania and We here in North America to realize. Though apartheid, jim crow, and segregation is not legal here inside the u.s.a. today, after many of our Fathers, Mothers, Sisters and Brothers shed blood and were imprisoned for civil rights and integration, We today are worse off than We were before 1960. Close to 40% of our young Black men are unemployed and the present trend of Reaganomics calls for more unemployment. The police shoot us in the streets of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Milwaukee while a racist Ku Klux Klan underground prepares for race war. Though We have won the right to vote, We have house Negroe politicians who serve as caretakers for an racist and exploitative system and condone the bombing of Black organizations in Philadelphia and collaborate whith American big business in support of the white racist regime of South Afrika.

Many of our Azanian Brothers and Sisters have learned from our experience and realize their struggle is not for the right to marry white people, to sit next to them in a restaurant or on a toilet, or to vote in their racist system. True liberation struggles have been fought to achieve control of our land and labor so We can control our lives and the future of our children and the establishment of a system beneficial to the entire Afrikan nation. This is why our organization—the New Afrikan People's Organization—supports the demand for an independent Afrikan socialist Republic of Azania. Here too in North America We must struggle for an independent socialist Republic of New Afrika. Civil Rights is not enough. We need to have self-determination on the land in the Black Belt South—our New Afrikan National Territory. The New Afrikan territory is primarily the states of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, and other areas in the South where our people have worked, built, and developed a common language, consciousness, culture and history. This is where We have fought to stay and where over 53% of us live today. Just as it will take a long struggle of organizing the Afrikan masses in South Afrika and armed mass movement to win liberation and sovereignty in Azania the same determination and strategy of people's warfare by an means necessary is needed for an independent, socialist New Afrika. Azania and New Afrika must both become Nations of Afrikan Freedom Fighters.

As a result of the struggle waged by Azanian Freedom Fighters many of our courageous Azanian Brothers and Sisters have been martyred or imprisoned due to their participation in the Freedom struggle. Many captured Azanian Freedom Fighters are held as Political Prisoners or Prisoners of War in the notorious Robben's Island prison. Political Prisoners are activists incarcerated for their political beliefs or militant acts of protest. Prisoners of War (POWs) are captured armed Freedom Fighters engaged in military conflict between nations or in civil war. Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC, has been incarcerated 22 years on Robben's Island and recently refused to renounce armed freedom struggle in order to be released by a South Afrikan settler government whose rule would be impossible without repressive violent force. Zeph Mothepeng, a PAC organizer, has been in Robben's Island since 1979 accused of organizing Azanian People's resistance in the Soweto Revolt in 1976. The white settler regime is also responsible for the assasination of the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement, Steve Biko, while he was incarcerated by the racist government in 1977 Many other Azanians have been assasinated or imprisoned but the Azanian Freedom Struggle carries on and grows stronger. Captured Azanian Freedom Fighters are denied protection due to POWs under international law.

Our people also have Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War and martyred Freedom Fighters. Afrikan people in North America have resisted since the first was captured by European slave catchers. The New Afrikan Freedom Fighters have been brutally tortured, assaulted, kept in inhumane conditions, and even assasinated like Azanian Freedom Fighters. New Afrikan Freedom Fighters like Sekou Odinga, Sundiata Acoli, Kuwasi Balagoon, and Geronimo Pratt remain in u.s. prisons as common prisoners in violation of international law. These New Afrikan heroes and other Freedom Fighters

Freeing the Land in Azania

Continued

like Assata Shakur, Mutulu Shakur, and Nehanda Abiodun who are hunted today by the u.s. government personify our Black Nation's historical resistance against the white settler American Empire. Long Live New Afrikan Frededom Fighters.

What must We do to support the Azanian Freedom Struggle?

1. Boycott collaborators with apartheid and imperialism in Azania. The Azanian liberation organizations all ask us to support efforts to isolate the white settler regime in South Afrika diplomatically, culturally, and athletically, and economically. Many American corporations have taken advantage of the low wages our Azanian Brothers and Sisters are forced to work for and have placed their plants and factories inside white controlled South Africa. They have financially benefitted from the oppression of our Brothers and Sisters.

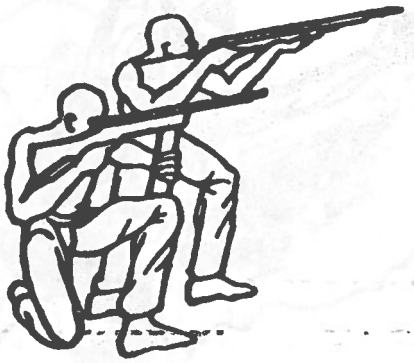
Over 288 American corporations have invested in South Africa. The white supremacist and imperialist American government gives tax breaks for American businesses who build factories in South Afrik These blood sucking American companies actually get tax breaks for keeping you unemployed by moving industry and jobs to cheaper labor sources in South Afrika.

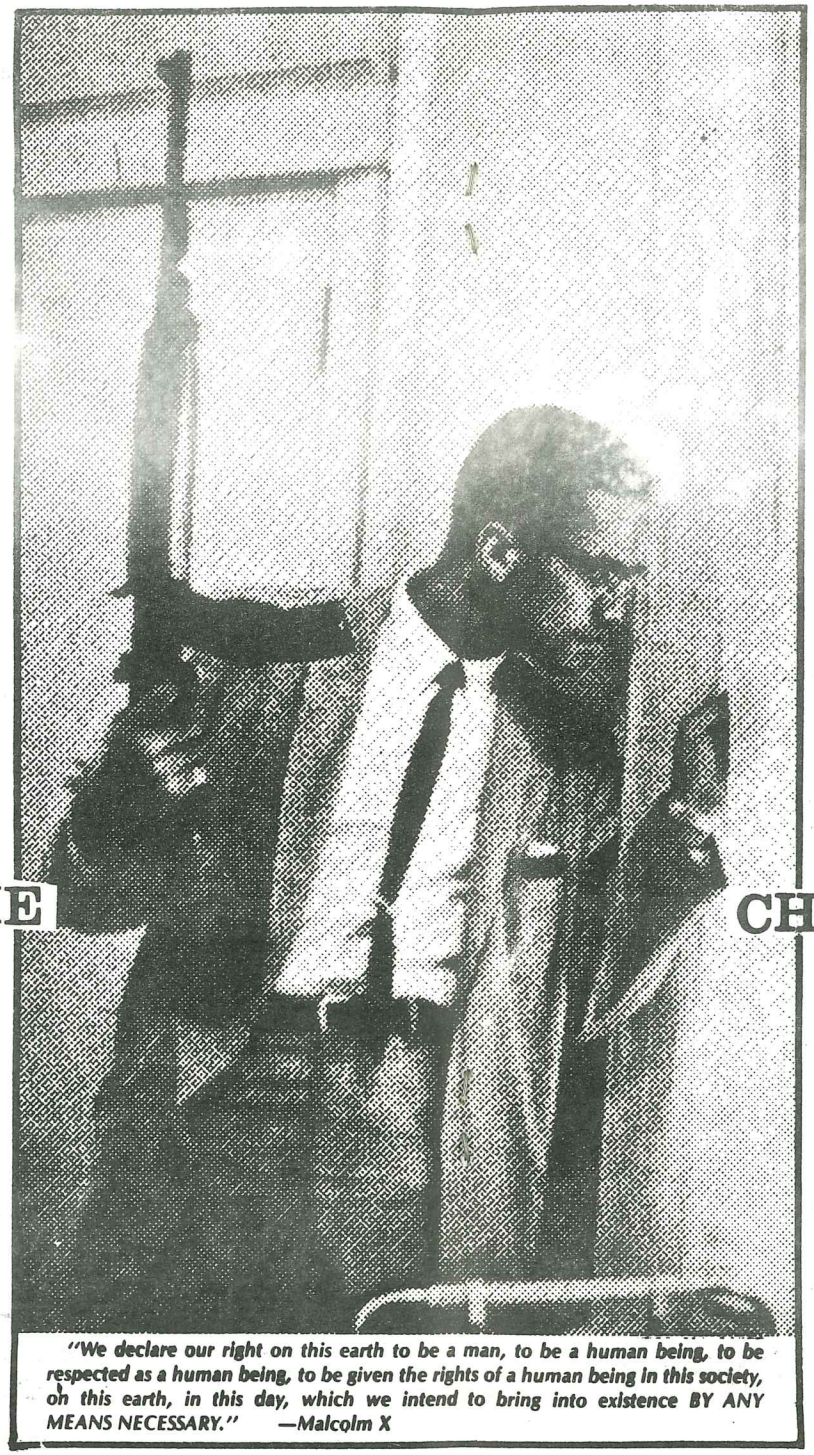
We must support the call for these racist companies to divest their investments, business and factories from South Africa. We must also boycott negro entertainers and athletes like Ray Charles, Diana Ross, Tina Turner, Tim Reid, Mike Weaver, and John Tate who have sung, danced, and played sports of the graves of our people in South Afrika. We can take example from our Azanian Brothers and Sisters who strike for non-collaboration with the racist system. We must not collaborate with the forces of apartheid and imperialism whether in South Afrika or North America and We must expose misguided and opportunist negroes who do.

2. We must give material aid to our Azanian Brothers and Sisters. Even though We are an oppressed colonized New Afrikan Nation, we can provide some material aid (clothing, medical supplies, money, etc.) to Azanian refugees who live in nearby Afrikan countries (Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Lesoto and Botswana). These Azanians have fled South Afrika primarily because of the political repression of the racist regime. We must also materially aid the Freedom Fighters of ANC, PAC, BCM who wage guerrilla warfare against the white settler regime.

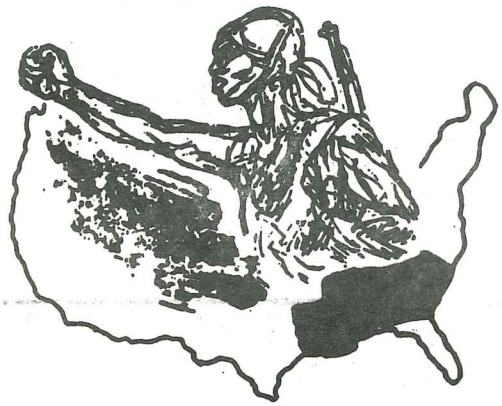
3. We must politically eduate other Brothers and Sisters to the truth. Pass this article on or discuss the information with others. A politically conscious New Afrikan Nation is the best ally the Azanian people can ever have. The American ruling class is the strongest ally of the South Afrikan government (along with the white settler regime of Zionist Israel). We, like no one else, have historically put pressure on America's support of racist South Africa. If more of us are aware of the situation, more of us will act to challenge collaboration with South Africa inside of North America.

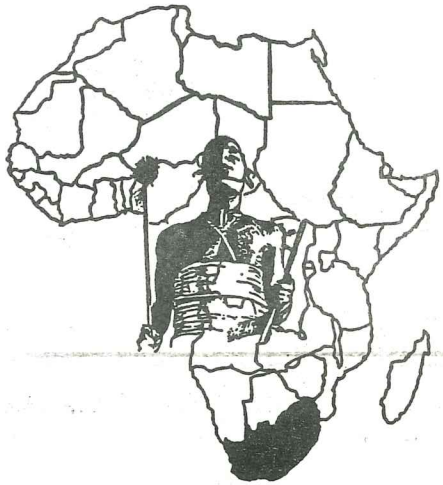
4. We must engage in our own struggle for human rights and self-determination through using any means necessary to challenge the American regime. The emergence of a strong New Afrikan Independence Movement in North America will force the American ruling class to choose whether to concentrate its resources on our movement or on fighting liberation movements in Afrika, Central America, the Carribean, or the Middle East. The white settler American ruling class was faced with the same proposition with our Black Power movement during the Vietnam War. In fact We played a role in the defeat of u.s. imperialism in Vietnam due to our resistance in the field in Vietnam and inside North America. Let us fight for our freedom and help win the freedom of our Brothers and Sisters. ●





HELP BREAK THE CHAINS OF REPRESSION





"We declare our right on this earth to be a man, to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, to be given the rights of a human being in this society, on this earth, in this day, which we intend to bring into existence BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY." —Malcolm X

FREE

MUTULU SHAKUR!

We Demand Prisoner of War Status for Our Captured Freedom Fighters!

U.S. IMPERIALISM

THE REAL CRIMINAL

The "Criminalization" of the Black Community

You know amerika is in trouble, because when you look at the economy you see that it's shrinking, that the participation is shrinking, that the way profits are gained now is not by more consumer participation but by laying more people off—so they don't have to pay the wages they used to have to pay to the people who no longer work in the city of Detroit or in Harlem, and who will never work again. We know the amerikan economy is in trouble because when we look around we see that most of the people working are watching somebody else, right? In other words, most of them now are becoming part of the police or military apparatus, if they can find work at all. They have all kinds of police jobs in amerika. There are the 35,000 that work for the city of New York, there's the Transit Authority, the Port Authority, then there are the people that work in grocery stores and department stores watching the people that buy stuff, watching the people that sell stuff, and then some people watching the people who watch the people that buy and sell stuff. There are private police and the public police. There are the guards in the prisons and the guards on the street. There are the parole officers and probation officers and the people who join the military because they are trying to survive. In fact, in the educational institutions now they have to create whole courses in police education. They call it criminal justice or criminalization, and what they have done is create a whole network to facilitate the building of the police state.

And then there are the lawyers and the judges—there's a whole group of people who walk around talking about how they're trying to stop crime, but there's no way in the world you can trust them to

stop crime, because if they stopped crime they wouldn't have a job. They wouldn't have anywhere to work. This is what they do for a living. They live off crime, and they say crime doesn't pay. Crime is paying better than anything else in the country today. Crime pays everybody except the petty criminal—and those who develop the criminal pathology because of the tremendous economic strain put upon them and the indignities placed upon them in our community.

The criminalization of the Black community is a manifest part of the police state. There is not only a criminalization of Black revolutionaries which began a long time ago with the counterintelligence program, with applying RICO (racketeering laws) to freedom fighters like Sekou Odinga and Kuwasi Balagoon, with the criminal conviction of Assata Shakur and ignoring our political rights and our rights to struggle and wage war against those who wage war against us—but the entire Black community is being criminalized, with the TV sets, with the media, with the posters, with the images which they draw of our youth. Everybody who is a parent has a son or daughter, right? All these parents' sons and daughters are being made to look criminal. It affects people all over. Every white person who gets on the subway nowadays, when they see a Black youth, they look at him as a potential criminal. Everywhere I go in the country, when I tell people I come from Detroit, they say: Oh, Detroit! Detroit is a code word for Black people, and Black is a code word for crime, right?

The criminalization of the Black community is not only in the concepts which are propagated in relationship to our people. At the same time they have set the FBI upon the true leadership of our youth and deflected them from the education they need and the direction they need to attack the system which is attacking them; they have created alternative images which leave nothing but the criminal pathology. It was back there with Superfly and it's here today: nothing but low down criminal images which are being taught to our youth, dope, and quick ways to success. And youth are easy prey to these things.

They tell me that something like 73% of Afrikans in Harlem will not finish high school in their lifetime. I know that something like 60-70% of our kids in Detroit don't have jobs, 50% of the men don't have jobs. In 1954 70% of Black men had jobs; in 1984 only 59% of Black men had jobs. By 1989 they're bold enough and brash enough to predict that only 40% of Black men will have jobs. And Black women and Black children, contrary to popular myth, are worse off yet. They don't even have it as good, if you want to call it good, as Black men. So this is the situation our communites are in. In a situation where you have grievous and wretched repression and oppression, one of two things or both, will result. Repression and oppression breed both crime and revolution. It breeds crime from those who are unguided and who respond with their individual acts to attack that which they see attacking them, in order to maintain some sense of personal dignity. It is pure folly to tell a young brother selling dope on the corner in Detroit that he is going to be a lawyer or a doctor some day—when he can't even finish the 8th grade! It is absolute folly to tell the young brother or sister in Harlem that they shouldn't sell dope at the same time you show them Rolls Royces on TV and you show them that people who don't have a lot of money don't have a lot of dignity either. How are we going to tell the young brother, the young sister, that sweeping the floor is just as important as Koch, who drives around in a limousine? It doesn't make sense, they don't think it makes sense; and in spite of all the social democratic moralistic nonsense that we can come up with, the reality is that this will not register. And so, normally and naturally without proper leadership there

will be crime.

It is important, and we do understand in the New Afrikan Peoples Organization, to comprehend that history is not something that just happens but is something that is made, and if you don't make it then somebody else will. History is being made today in relationship to the Black movement. Goetz, the killer of Bumpurs, the killers of Michael Stewart, the 10,000 police officers protesting in the street, they are making history, they are calling for and opening the doors to the escalation of genocide, and they are getting popular support.

It is important for us to make a bit of history of our own. To do this the New Afrikan Independence Movement is about the business of laying the foundations and building and educating the cadres that will be necessary to electrify the masses of our people around national independence.

On the Role of the New Afrikan Lawyer and Legal Worker

The pro-revolutionary, patriotic New Afrikan (Black) attorney plays an important role in the struggle for the liberation of New Afrikan (Black) people and the New Afrikan (Black) Nation. In fact, progressive and patriotic New Afrikan legal workers of all types play an important role in our struggle for freedom.

It is of course incorrect to assume that our role as lawyers and legal workers make us the vanguard of the revolution, or that the oppressor's courts and legal process are our gateways to freedom. These are politically elitist ideas. In the past such bad thinking has helped to misdirect the energies and strategy of lawyers, legal workers and large segments of our population. For example, the notion that the lawyers are the leaders and that the pathway to freedom is primarily through the American courts and American law, has left many talented civil rights attorneys and the civil rights movement running in circles. The very equal protection and 14th Amendment arguments used ostensibly to push the movement forward in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s have been used in the 1970s and are now being used by the Reagan administration and others to bury civil rights advocacy. The Supreme Court and most American courts are in cahoots with the Reagan administration. Almost every opportunity is seized by these courts to strike down affirmative action policy and programs established as a result of the Black movement of the 60s.

Some are shocked, disheartened and discouraged by these developments. Some are perhaps unaware that the present behavior of the US and state courts is consistent with the role they have played throughout history. The *Dred Scott* decision of 1857, the *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883, and the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case of 1896 are infamous notes on the courts' role in maintaining white supremacy in the United States empire. Indeed, in retrospect, it is apparent that even in decisions like *Brown v. Board of Education* the courts maintained this role. The difference between "pro civil rights" decisions and the "pro-Jim Crow" decisions mentioned above is one of style and form not one of content.

Brown v. Board, like its predecessors, did nothing to advance the New Afrikan's right to self-determination and reparations. Thus as in *Dred Scott,* the *Civil Rights Cases* and *Plessy,* the court in *Brown* leaves the colonized underclass status of the oppressed New Afrikan people unchallenged. The content of the *Brown* decision is not exclusively a work of the court. Some New Afrikan lawyers avoided the questions of self-determination and reparations in their petition to the court. They favored the misguided srategy of begging for integration into the empire, rather than demanding freedom from it.

On the other hand, the US courts' failure to uphold Black self-determination rights is by no means a product of

omissions by New Afrikan lawyers. Several times lawyers for the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and various New Afrikan Freedom Fighters have point blank raised the self-determination issue, as in the RNA-11 case and the Brinks case. The US courts on each occasion have chosen to ignore our rights and to uphold the American empire's grossly illegal jurisdiction over us.

What the history of the American courts demonstrate is that the courts compliment and support the empire's power. Indeed the courts are merely another arm of the empire, an arm by which the empire exercises some of its illegal jurisdiction over us.

Any strategy which places the American courts as the primary arena for our struggle, locks our movement in a forum which is designed and controlled primarily by agents of a white supremacist Empire (USA). In such a forum not only are there in built limitations (i.e. right wing supreme courts, all white juries in most jurisdictions, most of the time) but there is the ever present ability of agents of the Empire (i.e., judges, legislatures, Congress) to change the rules, or to manipulate them from time to time.

Moreover, any strategy which to a degree makes mass political action, or revolutionary force secondary to legal action, to the same degree paralyzes our movement, by making our most important assets mere followers, or worse yet, mere spectators of lawyers at work before judges or juries.

What makes the work of our loyal legal workers and lawyers important is the vital work which must be done in the courts to defend, and advance the political strategy, organizations, institu-

tions, people and sometimes the political/legal theory that comprise our popular and revolutionary movement. What also makes our legal work important is the necessity of exposing the true white supremacist and imperialist character of the American legal system. It is important to press this system at its vulnerable points, winning small and sometimes large victories, and thereby forcing the system to bare itself.

Victories by the oppressed in the oppressor's courts are only made possible by democratic rituals or precedents which under certain circumstances are rendered to the oppressed to delude them into thinking they are not really oppresed. In a white supremacist colonial system the rulers can always afford such rituals and precedents where they can insure, that in the vast majority of cases, decisions in the courts are made by white racists or by Black people blinded by white racists' thinking. When the popular and revolutionary pro-independence movement rises, it fortifies the revolutionary and patriotic consciousness of the oppressed and compromises the racist thinking of American whites. Indeed, We have seen, in periods of high nationalist consciousness, the New Afrikan popula-

tion seize significant community control over criminal courts in Detroit. Under such circumstances the political interests of the oppressor have been turned on their head in political trial, after political trial. The political leadership of a strong movement, supported by expert and conscious work by pro-revolutionary lawyers and legal workers made this possible. This same phenomenon has more or less occured in New York, and elsewhere at one time or another.

The American Empire has struck back by violently repressing the movement and its leaders and thereby disorienting our population. This has often caused New Afrikans to play the same divisive, oppressive and criminal roles in their own communities that white people once played. At the same time, the American rulers have been consolidating the anti-Black attitudes among whites. The Empire has also resurfaced totally undemocratic legal tools like the Grand Jury, and developed new undemocratic procedures like the anonymous jury, pre-trial detention without bond and legalized pre-emptive strikes (arrests before any alleged crime is committed) and a host of other measures which both limit the chances of us winning verdicts in their courts and at the same time, limit the democratic appearance of the courts. Indeed in many instances various court jurisdictions in Black areas have been or are being expanded or contracted in order to reduce the percentage of New Afrikans, Puerto Ricans or other oppressed people on juries or in judgeships. We might call this judicial gerrymandering.

An important part of the Empire's attacks on our movement is also its attacks on our loyal lawyers. Contempt citations, disbarments, trumped up criminal trials, and, in the Brinks case, the out and out barring of me from practicing in a New York federal court because of my position in the movement are examples of a few of the tools employed for this purpose. The shifting of Judge Bruce Wright from one court to another was undoubtedly meant to limit his effectiveness. Attorneys Lewis Myers, Jr., Alton Maddox, Jr., Lennox Hinds and others have all been attacked in the courts within the last ten years. And there were numerous legal warriors attacked before them (i.e., Detroit Judge George Crockett, Jr., attonrey Kenneth Cockrell, attorney Milton Henry, Howard Moore, John Brittain, etc.).

These attacks cause us anguish and pain. But what is important is our ability to turn this pain to progress, and this anguish to action.

Both Judge Bruce Wright and i appreciate the present Grassroots Tribute (April 26, 1985 in New York) to our work. But much more important than its qualities as a tribute to individuals, this tribute and others must become rallying points to rejuvenate and electrify our people and our movement in its popular, revolutionary and legal work manifestations.

It is our present task to press forward relentlessly, forcefully and scientifically in civil suits and criminal defenses where necessary. We must fight in all arenas We find ourselves in either by choice or by force. The arenas We choose, must be chosen wisely. But regardless if by choice or force, We must fight with courage and commitment as long as We are there. As Malcolm once said, "I don't believe in fighting today on any one front, but on all fronts. In fact i'm a Black nationalist freedom fighter."

Indeed Malcolm stated that it was his desire to be a lawyer, to serve his people as a lawyer. Racist whites and the racist system blocked his aspirations. Those of us who have become lawyers now largely because of the heroic struggle of our people and freedom fighters like Malcolm, have a responsibility to fight on our front with the same dedication that Malcolm fought with on several fronts.

We must not only fight, but We must fight to win. Truth will be our strongest weapon. Our ultimate victory will come not in verdicts or court decisions, but in the triumph of our national liberation struggle. It will come as We strip the American Empire naked of all appearances of legality and legitimacy, and expose it to the revolutionary wrath of the people.

MAKE THE FUTURE!

SURFACE THE NATION!

FREE THE LAND!

VOICES OF A CAPTIVE NATION

NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION
NAPO Speaker's Bureau
13206 Dexter Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48204

On NAPO's Revolutionary Mission

We are the New Afrikan Peoples Organization. We have a mission. Our mission is to organize our people into a mighty force for freedom.

Properly organized and mobilized, New Afrikan People (Black people in America) will free themselves from poverty, crime, police terror, injustice and all other forms of American white supremacist oppression. The power of organized masses of New Afrikan people struggling for freedom will also contribute generously to the liberation of all oppressed people in the world.

The oppression of New Afrikan People in America and the oppression of a great portion of the Third World is a product of economic exploitation, military aggression and cultural plunder by the government and economic rulers of the American Empire (the United States of America). Centuries ago the forefathers of the present American regime kidnapped us and illegally placed us under their jurisdiction. Their laws, political system and economic structure was illegally imposed on us. The problems we have today are both consequences of these historical acts and of contemporary United States policy, which is designed to maintain the U.S. Empire's illegal control over us.

Our conditions are particularly bad at this time and they are growing worse. In the 1950's only 78% of Blackmen in America had jobs, in 1983 only 59% of Blackmen in America had jobs. Experts predict that by 1989 only 40% of Blackmen in this country will have jobs. Meanwhile, Black women and children are in worse shape economically than Blackmen. Well over 50% of our women and children live in households in which no one is employed.

The average New Afrikan (Black) family only receives 57% of the income that the average white family in America receives. Discrimination against us on jobs is still a normal white business practice. Black businesses on the other hand, control less than 1% of the countries wealth.

Moreover, while Black businesses are still the exception in Black communities, and nearly non-existant elsewhere, thousands of pro-USA petty capitalist from other countries are sufficiently financed by U.S. financiers to allow these immigrants to establish retail outlets in the Black communities. With their stores, money changer establishments, restaurants, and other ghetto businesses, these merchants find the American dream by robbing the Black community.

Most of today's ghetto merchants are refugees from other areas of the world where United States imperialism is on a decline. Many of these refugee merchants are unpopular in their own countries because of their collaboration with United States imperialism. Wars of National Liberation and liberation movements among the people have often evicted these junior capitalists or sent them away. After failing to successfully continue to exploit their own people in collusion with the United States, they seek their fortunes through the super-exploitation of New Afrikans in America.

Unlike present day Vietnam, Lebanon, North Korea, Cuba and other areas from which these merchants emanate, the New Afrikan communities are fully fortified by well-equipped domestic American military forces called "police, FBI, security guards" and various other names. This military occupation is in addition to that

of the National Guard, the CIA, the Army, the Navy, the Marines and other organizations utilized to secure American imperialism world wide.

Thus, despite all the talk of crime in New Afrikan communities, New Afrikan communities are at present much securer grazing lands for greedy merchants and American capitalists than many other areas in the world where revolutionary struggles are in process. Indeed, both crime and revolution is consequence of exploitation. However, revolution destroys imperialism, while imperialism flourishes in an atmosphere of crime and decadence.

The success of our freedom mission in America requires that New Afrikan people in America establish an independent state, on land in the Southeastern Blackbelt (Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana).

We need land and independence in America in order to govern ourselves and to control our own economic affairs. It is not possible to win our freedom or to contribute to the righteous struggles of others if we ourselves are totally dependent on the primary source of National and International oppression (the U.S. Empire).

Our struggle for independence has already commenced. It is not a struggle in another time, or, in another place. It is not a strange movement. It is here and now. It is ours. We as a people are familiar with it.

Everytime we protest police terror, brutality and murder, and everytime we struggle against job discrimination and utility exploitation, and struggle for better job conditions, housing and education for our children, we are engaging in this struggle. Whenever we oppose American military support to blood-thirsty tyrants in Central America, Iran, and Israel, and whenever we oppose U.S. economic support for the white supremacist regimes in Southern Afrika, and the U.S. invasion into Grenada, we are supporting Black independent foreign policy, which is a part of our independence movement.

Whenever we truly struggle for secure communities and a better life, free from poverty, crime, cultural pollution, social degradation, hopelessness, and despair, we are really fighting for the new society. We are in truth struggling for the independence and revolutionary development of New Afrika.

All of us as a people have an obligation to support our movement and to build it. The New Afrikan Peoples Organization has a special role. Its role is to find, recruit, train and organize New Afrika's most committed sons and duaghters. Its role is to encourage and assist in creating the popular organizations and institutions through which the masses will assert their awesome revolutionary force for liberation and development.

It is also the mission of the New Afrikan Peoples Organization to unite all progressive New Afrikan Organizations and individuals. Our mission is to make the New Afrikan Peoples Organization an important force in launching the mass freedom movement of an organized New Afrikan population.

This mission is vital to ourselves and the world. We are confident that TOGETHER, WE AS A PEOPLE WILL FULFILL IT. ▲

SMASH THE GRAND JURY!

Anyone can be subpoenaed to a Grand Jury.

You may be next!

Your right to silence in supporting your Independence movement & protecting yourself is a Human Right! Use it!

Build A Wall of Silence

New Afrikan People's Organization

National Territory:
c/o P.O. Box 11464
Atlanta, GA 30310-0464
404/289-2342

East Coast:
c/o P.O. Box 2348
New York, NY 10027
212/222-9640

Midwest:
Malcolm X
Community Center
13206 Dexter Avenue
Detroit, Michigan
313/883-3312

West Coast:
Center for Black Survival
4718 South Main St.
Los Angeles, California
213/234-5522

Free the Land!